1: Berque--1 Z-5 (ca. 1958) 1955 MW11 Shlah MW11

/Pages i-iv are title pages./

/v/ Foreword

101 I wrote this book in collaboration with the tribes of the west-
114 ern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and particularly the Seksawa.
Nothing is more fierce, better preserved than these sons of the
824 black schist. The dizzy slope that goes up to one of their high
places, the Tichka, bears an isolated tree that they call tasghart
[856] wawal--something like "the tree of speech." They administer
122 its leaves in an infusion to children slow to speak. I have spent
a good deal of time myself in unraveling the language of the
Seksawa.

123 Abandoning the doubtful method of the "informant" and of
124 questionnaires, I would let the problems and the facts come to
me. A year passed before I reached the level of the accounts
composed, around 1925, at Imintanout by Lieutenant de La
Chapelle. I collected the best of my provender almost by chance,
by means of visits in the mountains, long talks on the roads, judi-
cial debates, festivals, evenings. Thus friendships and knowledge
deepened simultaneously.

I had the joy of sharing the one as well as the other with
many visitors. They will recognize themselves here. Perhaps
they will conjure up, in reading such and such a page, that brief
and shining hour, the irreplaceable bit of life that momentarily
united us in the history of the Atlas.

128 This book, therefore, was written in communication. Al-
though it does not claim the authority of any of those who have
read it in manuscript, by pieces or in its totality, it has greatly
benefited from their remarks. All were valuable to it. But I
could not say whether it has always profited from them as much
as it should have. I can therefore neither hierarchize the grati-
tude nor have understood by it that I am acting on the authority
of such and such of the masters who have expressly wished to ad-
vise me. The imperfections of my work will be alone, alas, to
face the too-just criticism. I do, however, acknowledge my debt
to MM. G. Davy, L. Gernet, R. Montagne, /vi/ J. Celeries

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000 /1/

First Part

First Approach to the Country and the People

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/3/

I. The Country

A Name

101 The existence of Seksawa, or Iseksawan, is attested to for at least eight centuries in the same valley of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. By this name, now, are recognized among themselves, and distinguished from others, some dozen little communities 101 grouped in the same fluvial basin. These syllables evoke a multi- 619 tude of traits of character, of tradition, of institutions: hence a personality. But no genealogical synthesis at all to account for it. Although the Seksawa legend is not unaware of the theme of the hero, or even of the eponymous ancestor, no explanation of this kind is alleged for the ensemble. The diversity of ancestry, a proclaimed heterogeneity are inseparable from the profession of Seksawa.

101 Hence the name does not imply here any rule of kinship. It is reduced to a simple verbal notation with a content that is

102 131

Fig. 1. -- The Seksawa in relation to the Mediterranean basin

/3 cont./

101 limited and at the same time /4/ flexible. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should not, I dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these notations, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained relatively fixed since the twelfth century. Date of the oldest written testimony and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the movement of this history in full motion, a history of migrations, of transfers of people and of ethnic conquerors, here is a country of the Arabs, a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of the Maçmûda cousins. We certainly know that we were in a country of sedentary peoples, that it was even a country of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 144 101 Just as certainly as the Berbers have remained [illegible] here, as such, since the Almohade epoch, which found them and left them in the same place, today as then, [illegible] are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations inherent in the life of a people and which mean that there are no pure races in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of representations belonging to popular memory and which, even the least cultivated among them, to local traditions, assert themselves as the most indisputable fact, and almost as a basic datum of the personality.

121 619 194 101 It is a great debate to see [illegible] has been the determining factor in the group or of the [illegible] (1).

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/ (1923) pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that [illegible]

/4 cont./

121 Seksawa, Urika, Gedmiwa, etc., have above all a topographic
619 content (2).
174
101

2. E. Laoust, "Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/," R. E. I., 1939, III-IV, and 1940, I-II, offprint, p. 150. Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 90 sq., had already judiciously distinguished three kinds of groups: the tribe, the village, and the district. He made much use of this last idea, pp. 268 sq. M. Quedenfeldt, Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc /Division and distribution of the Berber population in Morocco/, H. Basset tr., p. 131, notes that between H'Ih a and Mida "live tribes that bear all the same names as their principal establishments."

A large part of the sedentary peoples of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ happen to fit the case. These populations are the only ones of the Maghreb, perhaps, whose permanence of settlement can be affirmed over as extended a lapse of time. Hence the only ones who offer some guarantee for this kind of supposition.

121 /5/ Posed in this way, the problem is insoluble. In order to
101 clarify it, it is necessary to resort to units far more modest than these names of peoples, the only ones known from the chronicles. It is necessary to resort, on the topographical plane, to the name for the ground; on the human plane, to that of the agnatic group. These are two leading realities there. They will not cease to guide us in all this research. And already, any fine analysis of a term like that of Seksawa makes felt the combination of the effects between a geographic value and and a historic value.

101 The name can deliver more. Today it is perpetuated in its present form. This one seems to have prevailed since the Saadians.

/5 cont./

101 Sâadians. Earlier texts, that of Ibn Khaldûn, for example, give
114 Saksîwa, where the vocalization of the second syllable is that of
127 analogous names, such as Damsîra, Ganfîsa, Gadmîwa (1).

1. This is the orthography that de Slane gives, on the evidence of mss. that he used, for example, ms. 1521 of the Bibliothèque nationale, pp. 235 v, 1-2 de fine sq. A genealogical tree, which the translator has not kept in his edition (p. 365, l. 16 sq.), even gives an eponym Saksîw b. Ganfîs b. Maçmûd. The ms. of Rabat, D. 14, 98, Uns al-faqîr by Ibn Qunfûdh, likewise knew Saksîwa, p. 41 a, l. 2 sq. On the other hand, al-Baydhâq wrote Saksâwa, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, p. 65, and Arabic text, p. 43.

But the Berbère /Berber/ system seems too far removed, at least at present, from the long vowel for us to be able to base anything
101 on it. In any case, one now hears only Seksawa, doublet of the name used by the ones concerned themselves: Iseksawan (with sometimes redoubling of the sibilant). The sing. Iseksiwi seems reworked from the Arabic. One would rather expect an Aseksu,
101 as one elsewhere has an Admu, an Aglawu. But, not only is this
191 ethnic not understood by members of the group studied here, but it exists paradoxically elsewhere as a Jewish name, and even Oranie /Oran/ Jewish (2).

2. Information furnished by L. Brunot, who very kindly consulted some Moroccan rabbis for me. Cf. also I. Hamet, Les Juifs dans le Nord de l'Afrique /The Jews in the North of Africa/, 1928, p. 57; dictionary by M. Eisenbeth, Les Juifs de l'Afrique du Nord.

/5 cont./

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/footnote 2 continued/ 1936, p. 174. In the Mellah of Imintanout, an Israelite family from Ilutjan bore in Seksawa the curious name of Elkeslasi, pronounced Lkslasi, a name close to that of the place called Amskslan in Mtugga-Ud Bessebâc.

What is remarkable is not that Jews bear the same name as a Berbère /Berber/ group. It is, on the one hand, that the singular ethnic had been lost by the ones concerned themselves, and, on the other hand, and above all, that the name of the Seksawa is isolated in the anthroponymy of Maghrebi groups (3).

3. One should compare it, for example, to the veritable cluster of similar names that the ensemble furnishes: Mtugga, a. Atig, Tigguga; Tuggana, etc. Among the old names of the Mussulman Occident, however, one finds Sakâsik, Saksâkf. A legendary ancestor of the Berbères was so named. Ibn H'azm, Jamhara, Levi-Provençal ed., p. 462, l. 21. It is again found designated as an ancestor of the Howwâra by Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères, 1925, t. 1, pp. 170, 185, 273. Cf. ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, 1520, p. 108 v. l. 11. That would point toward /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a root S. K., with redoubling. But one can also think of a root S. W., where the redoubling would have differentiated the second element. This hypothesis would draw, not likelihood, but some support from a coincidence of sounds: that of Iseksawan and of Ichefchawan, that is to say, Chichâwa. One knows that it is a matter of the same watercourse, or of the same system of irrigation, the one below the other, and that the extension of

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/5 cont./

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/footnote 3 continued/ the Seksawa domain to the plain during the Middle Ages and up to Merinide times offers a certain probability.

A. Basset wishes to indicate to me that it is not a linguistic impossibility that these two names, Iseksawan and (I)chefchawan, go back to a two-letter root with complete redoubling, and respective passage from w to k and from w to f. But he specifies that it would be necessary to be able to justify the presence of these different treatments in the desired word and at the desired place.

In a domain indeed far away, but one in which the curious linguistic changes /Fr. chassés-croisés/ of North Africa do not make the reminder so improbable, I mean among the Touareg /Tuareg/, one turns up, among the toponyms used in the sense of "valley, system of water points," a whole scale of forms where the imagination could find intermediate stages between Seksawa and Chichawa: Sessaw, Aseksam, Segga, Ichaffen, Chawa. P. de Foucauld, Dictionnaire abrégé touareg-français des noms propres /Abridged French-Tuareg dictionary of proper names/, A. Basset ed., 1940, pp. 18, 19, 239, 244, 251. Let us also note the existence of Chuchawa in the Ouarsenis, and also, of course, the existence of a Chefchawen in the Jebala.

For E. Laoust, Seksawa could amount to the factitive of a root k. s., "to graze." But "no document, outside of the examination of the form of the ethnic, bears out such a conclusion," op. laud. p. 148. I shall point out, nevertheless, the existence of residual populations in the same domain whose name could go back to this same root: Iaessaï, a Tiksit, a Gasa even. One thinks also of the wild

/5 cont./

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/footnote 3 continued/ kind of the Moyen /middle/ Atlas.

M. L. Galand writes that in Iseksawan, the opposition of the singular to the plural belongs to a type known in Berber [illegible] the w would appear here as a radical element. In sg. Agdem (also Igedm) pl. Igedmawn, we are dealing with a radical w that would have been lost in the singular, as in a-mekka / i-mekkawn (cf. also inebgi / inebgiwen)? This hypothesis finds no support in the present forms of the names Agdem, without a final vowel, corresponds poorly to the preceding examples, and particularly for the feminine, generally more conservative. I was given only Tagdemt as opposed to tamekkawt (cf. also tigdigiwt). While waiting for more extensive research, I hesitate to see, therefore, in the w of Igedmawn anything other than a suffixal element.

"Consequently the difference of structure that separates Iseksawan from Igedmawn renders suspect the too-neat parallelism of the Arabic forms Sanhaja and Gadmiwa. The plural of the names of tribes is used more than the singular: it is what a foreigner learns first; have the Arabs felt that in Gadmiwa they were including a suffix and that in Sanhaja, perhaps under the influence of Gadmiwa, Berbers and they were mistreating the Berber /another vocalism/ that they had respected in Sakalwa? One could continue [illegible]

/6/

First Co-ordinates of the Country

133
[101]

A certain country, that is what in the end the name of Seksawa suggests, as much by the etymology as in the common usage. The essential thing for this country is and has always been, according to a mountain law that is real, for example, in the historical compartmentalization of the Pyrenees, the basin of

[Idaw Geryun]

/41/ IV. Cantonal Personalities

133 Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valleys of
• 101 the "sons of Geryon," Idaw Geryun, from their being called Tagza
634 Ufella, "the supreme refuge." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif, leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them. And, from the tenth of March, a piercing icy breeze impetuously "knotted," agg"mi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I-
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the herds of
[233] flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imeddaun, Ida ou Tigguga, a. Tkasit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction, the flocks of the high Sekkawa have moved to the plain among the Ud Besseb' Araba. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, and destroyed by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the arrhaic county of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, rises up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escarpments of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mellez 3,0[illegible], culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[778] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,[illegible] meters) is a minus-
[172] cule platform, completely surrounded by 90 % slopes and entirely occupied by the ruins of dry-stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]

133 /42/ timezgida, "sanctuary," of one Mulay Ali, an undistinguished
101 personage. A hole dug in the middle of the ruins expresses the
634 preoccupations, common in the Maghreb, of treasure hunters.
[778] An abundant and heavy humidity. On the North versant itself,
[172] at about 300 meters from the summit, an icy spring spouts a
[312] weak streamlet. From this belvedere the panorama is enormous.
Taroudant on one side, the Chichaoua plain on the other, a deep
E.-W. perspective on the axial chain. Between the two pyramids
of the Tanddri and the Ras Mulay Ali, the valley is closed by a
wall: the edge of the Tichka, dominated by the Tasgrut and the
Mssddat. But let us continue to follow the slope from Targa
Ufella.

Immediately at the foot of the descent, the ground of Tan-
137 gonsi, from Igezwan to Rekto, draws up in echelons its shady
[133] cultivations on fairly wide ledges of the bed, especially before
Alus. A bucolic thicket, Azerwal, is buried beneath the heavy
[778] foliage of the walnut trees. Then, a sanctuary, that of Sidi
Lah'sen u Tiqqi, "Monsieur of the juniper." From there, the val-
[133] Lh'lu, which the old documents call Wâdi-t-tuffâh, "the river of
the apple trees," opens in the direction of the Ras Mulay Ali.
[173] These trees are not to be found now. But their species furnished
[824] so much, people say, only a generation ago, that the sale of the
[437] fruit was enough for the canton to procure barley. Some wild
shoots remain. Similarly, wild cherry trees, amemlal, perhaps
[226] indicate old cherry trees. Today, only fishing, the apricot tree
[824] and the plum tree are exploited. All in a luxuriance of flowers
and bushes, among them the "briar," tidhfert. Rich in freshness,
color, and variety.

133 The principal branch of the valley descends toward the Sa-
101 sawa. Its flanks are studded with populations of "squatters,"
634 aknari, always associated here with former human habitats. There
[103] are several abandoned ones. Let us note in passing some evoca-
tive names: the mosque of the Vizier, and the "marabout" Sidi
Jâmâ, "Monsieur-Mosquée" /Mister Mosque/, between Askio and
Ighelmellen. The valley opens up in a wider and wider chasm
on an "Entre-deux torrents" /Between torrents/, the village of
Igersafen. Another country, that of the A. H addiyyen, starts
there.

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619 131 634 613 [217] [127]

/42/cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133 101 634 487 [721]

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi'y-Iaia, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Ali, Azwal, Temt'dabem, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igerna-fen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133 101 634 [769] [349] [796] [197] 173

The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait Haddiyya]

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of the part of the mountains. Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical document refers to a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagua. In this decline there is the whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great history of the fourteenth century to the humble monographs of intrigue of late epoch.

133 101 634 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads out with ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the exit of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is seen now and which forms a caïnon. A light spot indicates on the Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious, but yet [443] however, intrepid marchers frequent the way /axis/ of the Tiguga, and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of [778] Abdallah u Sfid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, the [484] village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from this village to Imintanout.

173 166 619 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely expanded. Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive, without violence, at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus constituted has itself become conqueror. The imposing rectangular 634 619 house of the last independent amghar, of most typically pisé, is the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fenas, at the very base of the [342] Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, premier-lay chief, the old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the purchase of green nuts and the financing (Fr. commandite) of livestock breeding. The majesty of the place resembles no more than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined, 634 173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong 619

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh a. occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Sekssewa, [613] from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addu. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless the great ancestor.

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Tga opens a difficult
166 but indispensable passage toward the Soua. It is this route that
167 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new mass a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. are
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the sof a.-s.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bu-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Sekssewa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Sekssewa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Sekssewa up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

133 A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
101 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
634 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
361 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
619 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Mch'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
101 remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
634 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
619 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
[538] Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great ancestors who built the countries bnan tlmizar, an expression of
[613] substantial exactitude. Their nine seguias and their five isha-s
[312] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
184 with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
619 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
[81] taqbilt of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz id and Iwklia. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awriz u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tguf-
zatin. After which reigns the Awriz n-Zkkat.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collec-
tive agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important be-
cause of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison be-
tween a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634
This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
101 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic
175 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
181
[166]

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./

634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

133 One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
241 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
101 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
634 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds
[361] of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs.

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen, characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
361 Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
101 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
634 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
619 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyw village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrit ravine flows. The Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course. Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to downstream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us estimate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality, since there are long sections completely encased and, on the contrary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jigit, gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'it, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Idma]
[Ait Lhsen]

619 /48 cont./
778
634 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most important sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla [484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen. Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.

619 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
195 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
701 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In mod-
726 ern times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
634 three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-opta-
619 tion, the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have remained for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
634 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
181 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tena-
619 cious aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen
174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
131 the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W., symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.

133 To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
101 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd., between which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the ?,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate, the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultiva-
[241] tions and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[233] these conquered peoples, remnants of heterocline populations,
[184] among the richest of the Sekawa. That is a kind of contradic-
tion to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines de-
scending from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id and from Beni-

[184] The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful
steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the environment, whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amagerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent. same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultiva-
133 tions to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
241 along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
101 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
634 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, as one, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Sakrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
101 themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the argan, the alfa-grass
634 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./

133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
• 101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Dubas display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

133 This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
101 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself up-
634 stream to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks. Appalachian
[134] peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape. Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there. The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa /Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idrisa, left covered with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent archi-
[124] tecture of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges. Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
634 of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
726 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
619 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Abderrah'man u Messaud u Ali. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
[712] saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Aqadir n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradun, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Sekawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place. Z'lmit'i and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the [128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,300
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[132] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,540
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Mûsa, the great saint of
[476] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
175 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
726 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
619 driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
[172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Imt'ddan]

/52 cont./

133 10 634 [172] [361] old occupant. A spring permits the irrigation of a little ground. The valley becomes more clement downstream, up to the junction with the river. There, another village, Tamegout, picturesquely rears its houses of black basalt, and its ramparts prettily put in an angled bastion. It is the third bourg of the tetrahedron. The fourth, Tinwalin, well downstream, faces the holy place of Z'init'.

One who reaches the river by one of the affluent valleys of the opposite bank, the one that descends from Wanchach, for example, will discover the desolation of the whole country that the long Afuzar barrier, oriented S. S. W - N. N. E., shuts off to the east. The impression of severity increases when one penetrates in the direction of Assttif by way of the narrow ravine, constructed by giant laurels, that opens on the ruined village of Jjgit. This is the Amlal i-ykiram, all studded with roots, with blackened and hacked roots: a cursed valley, which an unhealthily abundant flow has not restored to prosperity since the departure of the first occupants. The same at Jjgit, the ground has been deserted. At present only a man from Tamtamakkit lives there: but he is the blacksmith, familiar, as is known, with the malignant powers. And nevertheless the toponymy, in all the region, reveals former bucolic moeurs from Wanchach, the grounds crossed are called: Wizgaren, "of the cattle," Iggig, "of the calf," Tisserdan, "the she-mules." This ravine, this small unfruitful, which the pilgrim from Assttif must cross, is the Asnu i-ykiram, something which perhaps is like "the wadi of the generous." Backed up to the cliff of the Afuzar, where the Tizi Mggayd' allows passage toward the Gedmiwa, the ravine of Assttif, isolated in this ruin, seems to have concentrated all the benefic forces that little by little deserted the rest of the country or which constituted the reverse side of the malignant forces implacable against the a. Gasa. In these lands cursed by history, and doubtlessly condemned by rite, it incarnates hope and compensation. It re-establishes an equilibrium in favor of the group.

133 172 634 [103] [795]

[Art Work]

B /53 cont./

619 The Parvis of the Tempest: the Plain of Tamanrasset

184 A clear geographical and an [illegible] with the [illegible]

• 101 Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those
634 from below," the occupants of the section in the valley immedi-
ately lower, starting from the largest village of Ouzellam,
361 Lalimis. They live on a small flat mountain basin of four to five
101 square kilometers, full of ruins, which are considerable. Four
634 agglomerations follow one another from [illegible]
634 the village, in ruins, of a remedial [illegible]
619 knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new chateau of the Ghozlan
family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggle be-
tween a. Musa and a. Ur and in the time of the last generation.
Higher, but in a different landscape, where the brooks run en-
cased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlets of Tagrawlt
[776] y-iggiz, marvel of coherence in the [illegible]. A whole series of
[778] saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi
Mh'and Ah'ormi, stares in a way on the side of the plain, that is
to say, on the side of the profane, of the village, and of the
troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of
asylum of Z'init'.

133 The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geo-
101 logical nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Jurassic
634 toward the N. on the right bank of the [illegible] following from
toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops
called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well-attested
old and legendary Portuguese mission is to be seen. On all the
other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it passes to
the Tamejlocht, bombe with hilly bases covered the W. and the
N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the
Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Six additional small
openings that allow passage to the [illegible] to the summit of the
a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of
Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tadert, which climbs to the [illegible]
of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of [illegible] is im-
portant.

[Aït Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 30
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the small basin which displays in this relief its enviable opulence.
634 Not being able to avoid accem by the powers of the plain, that
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
[631] unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The seat of the chiefs, the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. Lamentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the taxpayer does not live such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next, become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shelter of the saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her anqqif with the countryside from above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that
[181] he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistous
634 walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins. At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Tadla. This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a blow of the cane of Sidi Mḥ'and u Ḥaderrah (see). In fact, it has more water than the basin of Tabaṛjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below Tabaṛjut and Igurramen.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, following the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 101 634 619 have participated, the people of three taqbilt-s: a. H'adduyws, Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by the ikhs of the Ichiyyfan. It is the one that installed the people of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in the direction of the a. Abdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'jj Belqasm u Abderrah'man, from Talfint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 101 634 [137] The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of Tigemmi y-Iggiz, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlohit (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chains: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

778 [792] Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./

778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal brightness, the origin of which the painters can see, but which suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction. Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

[241] Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the country to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idama, formerly lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint. [794] Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected, whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Abdella

634 • 101 619 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the 634 175 726 sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh." Requested by the allied 619 Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul' wfa, it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible lesson still remain.

/61 cont./

613 no less withstand a rigorous critique; indeed, [illegible]
173 springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of [illegible]
619 claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity. Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose than the dry chronology.

173 Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is
619 today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place
● [101] of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the eponymous hero Amer u H'addō, historic personage of the fourteenth century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and that of the agellid-s. One of their branches, the a. Sofyān, in the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is it not a fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with the Sofyān of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!

[423] In many cases, the initium of the arable lands, that is to say, the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover, is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship with those whom they call Baba Amer and who lay claim, with general consent, to their quality of Sekkawa of pure stock.

634 How can a whole taqbilt, that of the a. H'addāyu, which it-
613 self interprets its name as "son of H'addō son of Y'ūnes," reconcile
619 this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse origins for each of the ikhs-s that compose it, and almost none of which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely retain any positive content anymore. And, on the other hand, it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the ikhs, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

[Ait Abbella]
[Ibubanen]

619 /66 cont./
634
621
613
173
166

Tuz'z'umt
- Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Bérard tribe)
- a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lenghfa, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Ih'ya u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Cherkaoh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Ai Ah and of Bui[c]wfin.
- a. Wanz'id' (high a. Ih'ya, descendants of Sidi Musa).
- a. Buhadi (Iberchan, Demnate).
- a. Mançur (Dwiran).
- a. Burjal (Dwiran).

Aqawz
- a. Bufbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid)
- a. Loçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid)
- a. Sfid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid)
- a. Lihfan (same origin as the a. Lqaid)

Tiburin, Imi n-tghili
- Regraga "marabouts"
- Ih'naychen (Dwiran).
- a. Kawsir (Dwiran).
- a. Jfa (Dwiran).
- a. H'med (Dwiran).
- a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran).
- a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran).
- a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 /67/ Third Case
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/In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a [101] herited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, lat. Tabant (in the Arab documents, forms al-Bubân), mountains of [312] high declivities between the Asqudder and the Amessian, a country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent [142] streams, and almost without wells or springs. They present a type [181] from the very first contrasts with the uncontrasted formations, the

[Ibubanen]

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[142]
[181]
/67 cont./
pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with the cunning vitality of the Idrisa. Dirty because of the lack of water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

[193]
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1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the significant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by the immigrant Dukkâla (1).

1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift. Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berberophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

[648]

Some of them took refuge in a. Abdella, at Talat n Qyas. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr: they are the present Ait Bumeslla miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen Ikhs-n remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of subordination to the a. Lh'sen.

[628]
People of aberrant origin, like the Ait Abbu of Timsleen, living without communication with the others, or like the Beny hayn of Talburt, related to the a. Mseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

634 184 •101 166 619

2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- [illegible] in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they [illegible] each of the other villages, on the ground which they [illegible]

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idîma [illegible] situated on the asif n-a. Mh'md, are in turn settled as villagers vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a [778] Mulid, in the villages of Tizmkert and especially of Igguiwn, where they have established a maqâm of their saint. Sidi Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and inculcated in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "monument" of Sidi Ah'med u Ali, in this same village, is a place of "magic intervention," l'âr, for the totality of the Ibubanen [illegible] but whose ritual, economy, and a [illegible] a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyus, the a. Abdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, hostile villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa. I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

634 619 [173]

A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 619 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter tribe is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, Ijaw that of the a. Khadda, 634 632 613 166 173 619 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as follows:

Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin revealed
Half from above	a. H'aqqi	Tabradjat-Agadir	Sidi Amer u H'dda
	a. H'amed	--	Came from the Issa with the Idrra
	a. Mzird'ad'	--	They are from the re-tribal a. Gess
	a. Jjaw	--	Came from the a. Zem-lal (a. H'addou-wa)
Half from below	a. H'sayn	T'abya	They are from the re-tribal a. Ish Ba
	a. Khaled	--	Sidi Amer u H'dda
	a. Ichchiyaän	--	Derivative. "Clients" of Sidi Mh'and
	a. u Gella	Iger n-sug	Declared as origin
	a. Lasri	--	A.t'ord'u (Idrra)
	a. H'fid	--	a. Ish M'amma (a. H'addou-wa)
	a. Wammen	--	Descendants of the re-about sidi Mh'and

634 184 101 619 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And nevertheless in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

[Ait D'alh'a]

619 /69 cont./ They share this
634 privilege of authenticity only with
184 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose [illegible]
101 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Amer [illegible]
[778] is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these
two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the newcomers. Be-
tween them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river
has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa.
This rupture marked the collapse of the ancestral powers. But two
islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of
chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in
a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Be-
tween them are arranged the new arrivals, between them who
sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country
altered neither its substance nor its name. The ancients also call
themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. A unit re-
mains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The people still
claim the old princely names of Musa and of Abdallah. The
mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant receives his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the mid-
dle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which
have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail con-
cerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the rela-
tionship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of
the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed property
structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirma-
tion to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
small type./ A family of Iger n-Imes, the a. Bassi, has [illegible]
in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Seasonally, some a.
H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'ayza, [illegible]
downstream, in a. Abdella at Imi-n-Igbi. The a. Bassi [illegible]
keep, with titles of origin, agl, an important mine property. In
olden times, and still in the time of [illegible], a famous

/71 cont./

Fossil Populations

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Almost everywhere, analysis discovers, beside and on the border of the great groups, residual families, to whom the agricultural augury is granted. Thus, in s. Abdalla, those s. Bihi u. Sâid /72/ of unknown origin, and extinct elsewhere. At Imp. the Amarir, to which have come to be juxtaposed, four centuries ago, immigrants from the s. H'addûyus. Above Aoumem is seen a Tagâdirt Ikuzza, which is brought together with the Idaw Kazzo (H'fh'a). Let us also mention the s. Ih'aq, of the middle valley, but also having a branch in s. H'addûyus; the Ignwas of the Idaw Geryun; the ait Chfîb; the Dawas, etc. Special mention must be made of two groups, remains of which are still found in the high valley and whom one frequently finds named in the oldest Seksawa documents. First the s. H'ugg"a. It is said here that they belong to the H'mer. But their name singularly recalls that of a leff of the Sous. The Tah'ugg"at corresponds with the Tagizzult. In Seksawa, these s. Hugg"a were indeed dispossessed by emigrants from the Tagizzult. That is all that can be said for the moment. Let us also observe the s. Ungan. A curious name. They are perhaps only "People of the place," "People found in place," and finally "the indigenes." Would they go back to the oldest Seksawa legitimacy? Perhaps their name suggests former classifications among different strata of population, like the leff-s of the Anti-Atlas. It is these s. Ungan that the people of Tasa refer to as legitimate and initial owners. The Arabized al-Mukâf' distinction is frequent in the documents, and often as paraph of a scholar. Another finding that has weight, these documents refer not only to the present impasse of the I. Geryuh, but to places such as Tewemmeren, Igelwan, not situated in s. Gîir. A circum-Tichka habitat and relations, that is to say, anterior to the present partitioning and segregation, are not the ones that are least archaic or least revealing in these testimonies. That seems to reinforce the fixation of these two groups to a certain Seksawa past, based as much on the ethnic data as on the geographical cadre that it suggests.

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

101 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the original source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the
174 disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on
619 the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tasan and the a. Gäir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Goundafa.

172 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Sessaw without
619 falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the cunning Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Isma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Asmif ravine, there in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

[103] Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggurt, Amlal n-Gäir, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tandumekkt, Iggis, Wanchaw, Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'zalo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Asmif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two facets: Islamic repulsion.

173 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla
619 Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief

[Ait Gasa]

/73 cont./

173 619 one Abdelmumen. These relations between the holders of the sanctuary and the people of the nearby fort indicate significant tension. Popular reprobation still weighs upon these vanquished ones two centuries and a half after their total effacement. It seems that Seksawa legitimacy was never conferred upon them, despite the proximity of Z'init'. They are considered usurpers but perhaps this is only the consequence of a late classification.

How have the new arrivals, Idma and Imt'ddan, today servants of the saint, been able to obtain the good graces of Lalla Aziza? Is this a historical fact or a reinterpretation qualifying the conquerors after the event? It is a difficult matter to resolve. However that may be, these conquerors, eliminating the a. Gasa usurper, just as not far away the a. Lh'sen eliminated the Demnate usurper, have been the restorers of the Seksawa legitimacy, and legend has kept account of it for them.

• 101 174 619 The name of the a. Gasa is very old. Its consonance recalls three old Berber names: ait Waddjas, ait Iggès, Ugdça. Le /al-/ Baydhaq mentions some Banu Waggis in the Gendsa confederation, and among the "Çawda of the mountain" some Unghasa (1).

1. Among the agricultural quarters of Z'init', note the existence of a tamazirt Iwanghasen.

174 619 where E. Laoust recognizes our a. Gasa. One is, of course, poorly informed on the site of these different branches in the Almohade epoch. It is possible that the ancestors of the a. Gasa, belonging to a neighboring group, inserted themselves as profiteers in the Seksawa system at the time when it was weakening (end of the fourteenth century) and remained in it until the time when the forces from the S. and the curse of the saint drove them out.

In such a matter, it is necessary to be very heedful of the notion of legitimacy. /74/ from which the a. Gasa were excluded, at least starting from a certain time, and from which, on the contrary, the Idma will benefit. But here, in this sense, is a new archeological clue.

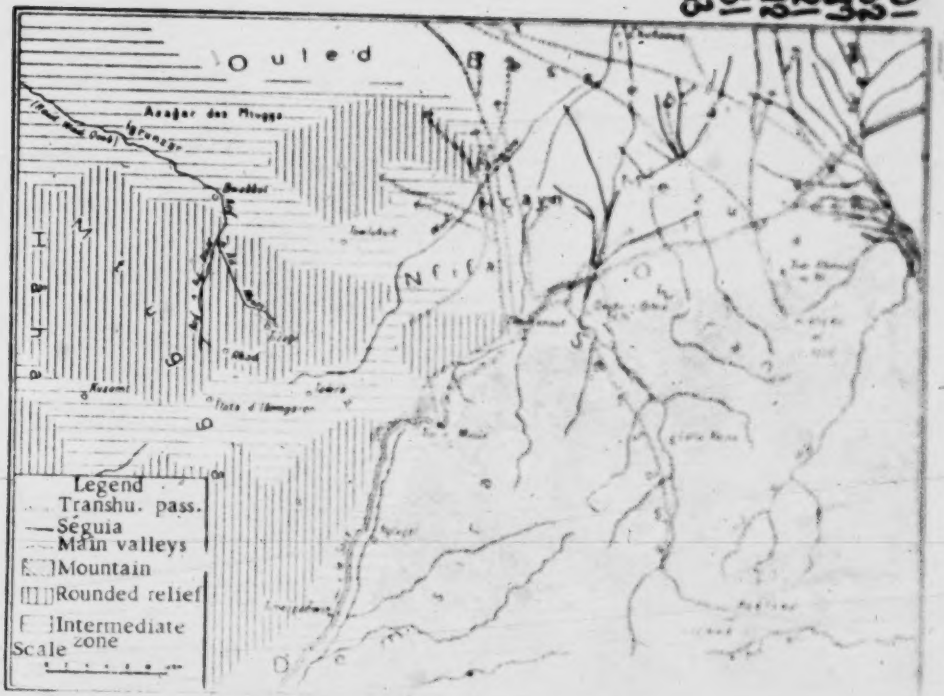

Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

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423 182 of the a. Mh'and includes parcels accruing to six ikhs-s, at the same time that it constitutes a cultural unit and a precise visual motif.

103 182 On a higher echelon the names of quarters assemble in more general toponyms those of the grounds: thus for Tamgonst, Agersili, Tassila, etc. But it happens that the toponym is lacking: then only the name of the group makes the link for the names of quarters: thus for the irrigated cuvette of the a. Mh'nd. This is only the tamazirt n-a. Mh'nd, without any other appellation. In this case, it is true, three notions tend to be confused: the agricultural one, of ground; the other one political, of bounds; the third geographical, of country. Such a meeting is rather rare. The more so as reality never lends itself to trenchant definitions. Forms react on one another, take one another's place. And it is not as far as the agglomeration of habitat -- whatever the mediocrity of its social signification may habitually be here -- which plays its role in the large classifications of the landscape. Thus one will hear a section of valley designated as "the land of Tannsmekht," for example, tamazirt n-Tnnsmekht. And nevertheless it is but a hamlet without veritable identity. It is absorbed, with others, in the personality of the Idma. Moreover, the expansion of the latter assembled a large number of countries not having any physical or onomastic unity among them: "Idma domain," tamazirt i-ydma.

101 103 On an even higher echelon the geographical cadre can exceed even extended applications of the name of the group. Then larger structural realities come into play. They make of the canton, and especially of the ramified system of a large valley, a unit surpassing the political order. History, however, is interested in organizing it in terms of this order, and finally in resolving it there. Thus, the name of Seksawa corresponds today above all to the cadre of a fluvial basin, a system obviously larger than /414/ that of any of the taqbilt-s crowded there. Further it is known that in the great epoch this cadre could express a vigorous political ensemble. But it is not the same everywhere. The name of the Gedmiwa, quite close, is far from

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101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mal. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," ait n-Nffis. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

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182 The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is not a federation of families. It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of gentes. The study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the taqbilt does not entirely suppress the role of the ikhs-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the taqbilt stood out all the more as the function of the ikhs was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

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First Book

The Sous in the Maghreb and in History

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/3/

First Chapter

The General Conditions of Human Life

I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- II. The Sous political microcosm. -- III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- IV. The climate and the regime of the streams in the plains. -- V. The climate and the regime of the streams in the mountains. -- VI. The attraction of the great irrigated valleys. -- VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The mountain massifs. -- IX. The sea.

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I. The great political regions of Morocco. -- The history of North Africa, in its general effect, gives us the spectacle of a series of dynastic undertakings without any order, vainly attempted in the most diverse regions in order to found Berbere /Berber/ or Arab kingdoms in the heart of a land that has remained essentially anarchic and rebellious toward unity. It is not impossible, however, to distinguish in this disorder two distinct regions. In the immense territory that goes from the Gulf of the Syrtes to the Moulouya, it seems that the chiefs, rising from the tribes or coming from the outside, are more often unable to triumph and that their ambitions are more quickly wearied by the obstinate resistance of the sedentary peoples or worn out by the inconstancy of the nomads. The far Maghreb, on the other hand, under the domination of powerful rulers, has frequently come to take on the aspect of a State. The Idrisite shorfa /shurfa/, the Almoravide, Almohade, Merinide /Marinide/ conquerors, the Saadian and Filalian shorfa, who in the course of the centuries successively wielded power in the same places, and not without interruptions, succeeded in creating there, in spite of the opposition of their subjects, the tradition of a government of the Occident, which is not unworthy of being compared with the great monarchies of eastern Islam.

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121 Moreover, the achievement of the great dynasties of Mo-
101 rocco seems to have /4/ been favored by the geographical ar-
133 rangement of the country, which it suffices to call to mind here.

In the Atlantic plains, crossed by the valleys of the Sebou, of the Oum er Rbi^{c}a, and of the Tensift, as a matter of fact, are found territories often fertile, zones of easy passage, and ancient and populous towns. It is there that the domain of the "Makhzen" /makhzan/ always extended; the small States that the most ancient sedentary peoples had created before the founding of the great Mussulman kingdoms have disappeared since the first centuries of history; the crossing of the autochthons with the Berbère /Berber/ and Arab invaders was done more deeply here, and the authority of the sovereigns of Fez and Marrakech was exercised without difficulty on tribes long bereft of traditions and deprived of any feeling of their unity.

On the other hand, the great mountainous arc roughly outlined by the chains of the Rif, of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/, of the Atlas Central and Occidental, which enclose the broad area of the Atlantic plains, has remained the habitat of populations often rebellious, "the bled es Siba," the land of re-
121 volts and anarchy. In these natural centers of resistance, the
101 Berbères /Berbers/ have succeeded in keeping their ancient institutions and customs nearly intact. They have been able to adapt, according to their own spirit, their traditions and their primitive beliefs to the new principles brought by this Islam, of which the rulers in the plains were the official representatives and interested defenders.

To be sure, these difficult regions did not live in isolation. Hostile races clashed in the mountains themselves, but, contrary to what happened in the "bled el Makhzen" /the region under the control of the central government/, the internal wars engaged in there did not make the tribes' own characteristics disappear. The most diverse ethnic elements were freely mixed there; nevertheless, their distinct origins as well as dissimilar geographic and economic influences contributed toward giving to the various parts of the "bled es Siba" a variety that

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101 stands out against the uniformity of the subdued country. It is in this way that great political regions, which we can distinguish to our day, have appeared: the country of the sedentary peoples of the Rif and of the Ghomara, on the shores of the Mediterranean, to the north of the valleys of the Ouergha and the Sebou and of the route of passage from Taza to Tlemcen; the land of the seminomadic Senhaja and of the Zenata, which covers the Saharan confines of the Dra, of the Tafilelt /Tafilalet/, and of the Haut- /5/ Guir, the Atlas Central and the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/; finally, that of the sedentary Masmouda and Senhaja, established in the western Atlas, the valley of the Sous wadi, and the Anti-Atlas (1).

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1. Each of these three zones corresponds to one of the three linguistic divisions of the Berbère /Berber/ country. The first takes the name of "groupe rifain" /Riffian group/ (Arabic modes of speech of the Jbala /Jebala/ and Berbère ones of the Ghomara, Senhaja, and Zenata); the second forms the "Beraber" group (Aït ʿAtta, Aït Seghrouchen /Serruchen/, Zayan, Zemmour /Zemur/, Beni Mtir, Beni Mgild); the third is the domain of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ (modes of speech of the group of the Tachelhait /Tashelhit/).

On the border of the Sahara, outside the semicircle formed by the Atlas, there are in addition nomadic tribes, Arab for the most part, which have at intervals become mixed up in the existence of the Empire by crossing the great passes in order to spread into the Atlantic plains. But while they entered these interior regions in the service of the great dynasties, at the boundaries of the desert they preserved a liberty that permits regarding them as elements foreign to the life of the far Maghreb.

/6 cont./

121 be able, in studying them, to discover with sufficient accuracy the political rules of the Mussulman sovereigns with respect to their rebel subjects; on the other hand, tribal life, full of apparently insignificant events, of revolts and obscure struggles, lends itself poorly to large-scale research. What we know of the history of the provinces permits us only to perceive a monotonous alternation between periods of organization and of anarchy, whose deep causes are not easily discoverable at first sight.

But if we narrowly limit our field of observation, choosing a part of the Maghreb in which are found joined together in a small space and a short period the successive aspects of an evolution that is going on everywhere according to the same laws, it is possible to understand the nature of the great rhythm of Berbère /Berber/ life. One observes first of all the agitated existence of the small anarchical republics, then the appearance and development of chiefs who bring order and oppression at the same time, finally the return to disorder and liberty.

121 We shall study here, as closely as possible, the social and
101 political organization of the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the south of Morocco between the Dra and the Atlantic. In this region to which the historians give the name of Sous (1)

1. Here we give the province name of the Sous to the whole region that is the domain of the dialect of the "tachelhait" /Tashelhit/. Stricto sensu, the name of Sous is often reserved for the valley of the Oued /wadi/ of that name itself and for the two versants of the Anti-Atlas. But in the eyes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the country of the Masmouda, the Atlas Occidental, is likewise part of it. The relative unity of the social structure of the tribes, the close relationship of the various languages, the existence of a kind of civilization common to all the sedentary Berbères /Berbers/ of the South of Morocco justify our terminology.

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•[101]

/Footnote 1 continued./ Here we shall use the word "Sous" in its narrow sense only when specifying that it is a matter of the valley of this river itself or of the interior plain that it crosses.

There human life takes on incontestable characteristics of unity under an apparent diversity of aspects. The khalifats /caliphates/, the tribes, and the chiefs confront one another in turn [?] and give us the perfect picture, in a little world in miniature, of that opposition, simple in its principles, complex in its forms, which on the whole sets by the ears the government and its subjects. In this region, more than anywhere else, it is easy to distinguish the phases of the transformation that carries along in the same current the little Berbère /Berber/ societies. We actually see minuscule states pass from independent life to servitude before our eyes; subject to influences that little by little alter their constitution and their structure, they obey similar laws and take part at the same time in the same evolution.

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171 While looking at the Sous as a kind of political microcosm of Morocco, we shall nevertheless try to extend our observations to other regions, when the transformation of their institutions makes such a comparison possible. From examples chosen from among the Jbala /Jebala/, in the Rif or in the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, we shall show how the simple laws that the study of the tribes in the province of the Sous has disclosed to us can explain the life of the tribes in the greater part of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

121 Only the country of the semi-nomads of the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and of the central Atlas will remain entirely exempt from our investigations. We thought that the different conditions of the material life, the less advanced state of the political evolution before the establishment of the protectorate, did not really allow us to establish with sufficient certitude comparisons between that region and the other countries populated by sedentary peoples. In any case the deep hostility manifested

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121 by most of those tribes toward the penetration of the Makhzan /makhzan/, the slight development that personal power had taken before our conquest, would render our research there nearly pointless.

Before speaking of the role played in the course of history by the Sous, far away and mysterious, fatherland of the Mahdis and pretenders, of religious reformers and the sorcerer-talebs /public scribes and notaries/, and which is at the same time the domain of independent republics, of mountain kings and great kaids, we shall try to indicate at the very start what the geographical factors that partly determine the life of men are and in what framework, marked out by nature, their existence has been able to preserve a great variety and a profound unity at the same time. Then we shall attempt to show how the peopling [181] of this vast region came about and to sketch /a/ the picture of the humble civilization of its inhabitants, of those industrious and peaceable "Chleuhs" /Shluh/, who form one of the most homogeneous and most lively social groups of Berberie /Barbary/.

• 101 133 III. The boundaries of the province of the Sous. -- The geographical boundaries of the province to which we give the name of Sous result almost everywhere from the arrangement of the relief. To the North and to the South, the plain of Marrakech /Marrakesh/ or the Sahara is the habitat of the Arab or Arabized tribes, while the Berberes /Berbers/ occupy the mountains as far as their last slopes. A line that starts from Mogador, in following at a slight distance the foot of the Atlas to Demnat /Demnate/, skirts the territory of the Berbère /Berbez/ tribes of Masmoudian origin. To the South it is the lower course of the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/, the line of the Bani and of the Khela Tilemsin that separate the country of the sedentary Senhaja of the Anti-Atlas from the steppes and deserts where the nomadic Arabs of the Sahara live.

To the East the boundary of our region is more difficult to determine. In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, if one stuck to the ethnic groups, it would doubtless be necessary to distinguish the

/8 cont./

101 land peopled by Masmouda, to the West of the passes of the
133 Glawa, from the one that, more to the East, as far as the passes of the Izoughar, is inhabited by the sedentary Senhaja established for long centuries around the summit of the Ighil Mgoun
[197] /Ighil M'Goun/. Besides, the modes of speech of the latter differ somewhat from the "tachelhaît" /Tashelhit/ of the Sous and already present some characteristics of transition with those of the seminomads of the Beraber group. If, on the contrary, one stuck to the conditions of existence and to the way of life, the passages of the Izoughar, in the vicinity of the land of the transhumants, should serve us as boundary.

The vagueness of the Sous boundaries is the same in the cultivated valley of the Dadès, which is connected by a continuous series of gardens to the one of the Haut-Dra /upper Dra/ and, like it, forms a kind of melting pot where the sedentary peoples of the mountains of the North and of the West come to merge with the seminomads of the steppes of the South and of the East. One can acknowledge that this line of gardens, 250 kilometers long and scarcely a few hundred meters wide, constitutes at the same time a transition country and a boundary, beyond which one enters the land of the Saghro on the territory of the Aït 'Atta, brothers of the Aït Yafelman montagnards of the central Atlas and of the Zayan.

121 /9/ Circumstances did not allow us to pursue our investiga-
101 tions in the mountainous region of the Ighil Mgoun as far as the passes of the Izoughar. Accordingly, although the populations that inhabit it have experienced an evolution similar to that of the Atlas Occidental, and we believe one can explain by the same rules the different transformation of their political life, we shall limit ourselves to including in the number of the mountain tribes of the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group those that belong to the Masmouda family and whose territory extends from the Atlantic up to the Tizi n Fedghat, which connects the land of the Skourra with Demnat /Demnate/ a little to the east of the pass of Telwet.
[131] Thus the Sous includes all the mountain territories of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, Anti-Atlas, and Sirwa between the Dra and the Ocean, as well as the interior plain that is enclaved there.

311 /14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
241 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
166 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
[132] still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[731] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Gharb/.
[727] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further ac-
celerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[101] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common
characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère
/Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi
which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce
between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan
South that one can observe the most original manifestations of
the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at
ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[179] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the
"haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/
Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mix-
ture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often
falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more
bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autoch-
thons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups
that occupy them and remain the most active and the most nu-
merous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding
what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of the
plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed
by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which
constant relations are established between the two versants, so
that the displacement of people, the migration of families and
tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/17 cont./

133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
[361] and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur:
the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
• 101 of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mouni, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

2: Montagne--25 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MWII Shlah MWII

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Chapter II

The Population of the Moroccan South

I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups. -- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

• 101 Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion.

101 184 619 It happens, on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

128 127 * 175 The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here, by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34]

/34 cont./

*175 Agadir, to the country of the Mezwar of the Dra in the district of Tinzoulin, while in the plains of the North the Hilalians of the Sofian /Sofyan/ and Jochem tribes, allied to the Portuguese of Safi and Mogador, will lay waste the crops of the Berbères /Berbers/ at the foot of the Atlas as far as the gates of Marrakech. But little by little the Arabs of the Dra, they too, will find themselves pushed back into the Sahara. In our day the Ouled Yahya of the Khela Tifernin, the ʿArib and the Roha of the bend of the Dra take no more than a reduced part in the activity of the great valleys.

Thus is accomplished, in the Moroccan South, the triumph of the sedentary peoples over the nomads, the slow assimilation of the foreigners by the autochthons: by groups or by isolated families, the last to come settle on the land, and in the solitude of the desert one again meets no more than irreducible elements whose present weakness and misery hardly permit us to imagine what the power of the Maʿqil formerly was.

*175 IV. The interior displacements. -- Even when the peopling 167 of the Sous region appears finished, interior movements continue 174 to stir up the bulk of the sedentary tribes. Displacements of small social groups finish bringing about the intimate mixture of the elements of various origins, already prepared by the clash of the large Berbère /Berber/ or Arab families.

This phenomenon of "brassage" /stirring, mixing/ goes on in two forms. We have mentioned above the attraction exerted by the irrigated valleys and the oases of the Dir on the inhabitants of the mountains or infertile plains. But a displacement of tribes toward the North is also produced, which indeed indicates, by the very constancy of its direction, the existence of a permanent restlessness of the men obliged to live in this hard country. A number of tribes of the Anti-Atlas or /35/ of the south versant of the Atlas have thus put out colonies on the northern slopes of the Deren or in the country of the Haha. Moreover, the memory of [101] the ethnic bond that united the detached fraction with the mother tribe has often disappeared. Only the name survives.

/35 cont./

*175 which indicates to us the origin of these favored groups who have
167 thus succeeded in establishing themselves farther to the North in
174 regions less hostile to human life. Such are the Soussians, set-
•101 tled a short time ago at a distance of a day's walk from Marra-
kech on the first slopes of the hills of the Kik and who are
brothers of the Isouktan of the eastern Anti-Atlas; the Ouagins of
the Jbel Kik, relatives of the Ait Waouzgit of the Siroua, the Ait
Semmeg of the southern Dir of the Atlas, northeast of Tarroudant,
who without doubt came from the land of the Ait Semmeg of the
north versant of the Anti-Atlas; the Ida Ou Boutsia, Ait 'Amer,
Ait 'Aissi, south of the Haha, originally from tribes of the same
name who are still established in the plain or the Dir of the
Chtouka.

Actually, as we shall see, each of the little tribes who thus
live a great distance to the north of the territory of the social
group that gave them birth and whose name they keep is not ex-
clusively made up of families of the same blood; many foreigners
who arrived from every direction came to enlarge the mass of
emigrants. But the founding of these colonies remains no less, in
origin, a manifestation of this great historic movement of migra-
tion toward the north by tribes coming from the Sahara and the
steppes, which is being completed today before our eyes by im-
perceptible displacements of families in a country henceforth
conquered by sedentary living.

*175 V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohe-
648 sion of social groups. -- At the time when, in the Moroccan
South, the predominance of Berbère /Berber/ agriculturalists over
all the elements of outside origin is asserting itself, it is not use-
less to observe how much the bond, formerly so strong, that
joined together the tribes from which the big families of the
Masmouda and Senhaja were made was then weakened. Since
the sixteenth century, after the passage of the Arabs and the mara-
boutic reaction, it seems that the hostility of the two races has
disappeared. As a matter of fact, from now on the historians do
[101] not mention their names to us any more, except to show the

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past: in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
•101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "left" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes,
*631 who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*63 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
829
[113]

1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/. Paris, 1886, p. 102).

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

/121 cont./

*631 Three great lords, they will tell us, command the mountains of the Masmouda.

To the East, in the heart of the Atlas, it is first of all the Telwet chiefs who extend their authority over innumerable populations, while relying on the little tribe of the Glawa (2).

• [101] 2. To designate the tribes we shall indiscriminately use here their Arab or Berbère /Berber/ names. In current practice, the Arab name serves especially when one speaks of the relations of the tribe with the Makhzen /makhzan/; in the country itself, only the Berbère /Berber/ form is used. Thus the Haha are designated among themselves by the name of Ihahan, the Mtougga by Imtouggen, Glawa by Iglawa, Chtouka by Achtouken, Gedmiwa by Igedmiwen, etc.

*[634] By possession of the two versants of the great chain, they meet the one of the districts of Skoura, of the Dadès, and of the Todgha, and thus thrust a threatening point to the East toward the Tafilalt.

[792] Toward the Sahara, the whole upper course of the Dra wadi, the
[795] richest valley of the South, according to the words of Foucauld, is subject to them, and their advice is taken as far as Tamegrout, where the great Nasirya marabouts sit, leaders of one of the most active brotherhoods in Morocco and whose religious prestige is exerted as far as the most remote cantons. Toward the South they come to the borders of the desert, nearly to the vicinity of Tisint. In the Southwest of their command, in the direction of the Anti-Atlas, the Zenaga, the Soukrana, the great confederation of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa, submit passively to their
*631 domination. Si El Madani Glawi, the uncontested chief of this
159 veritable kingdom, has even been the grand vizier of Sultan
175 Moulay ʿAbd el Hafid in the last hours of Moroccan anarchy. In disgrace for a time, he nevertheless took his place again and

2: Montagne

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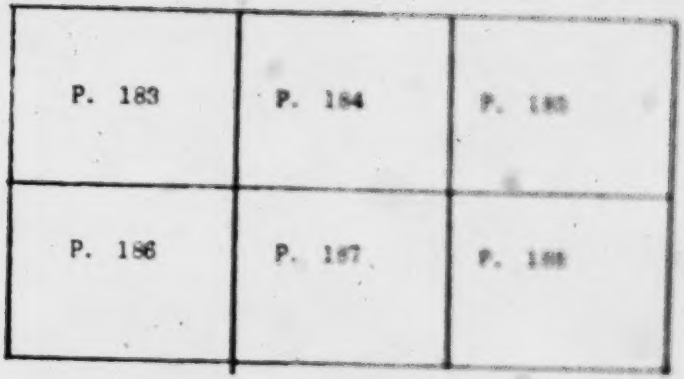

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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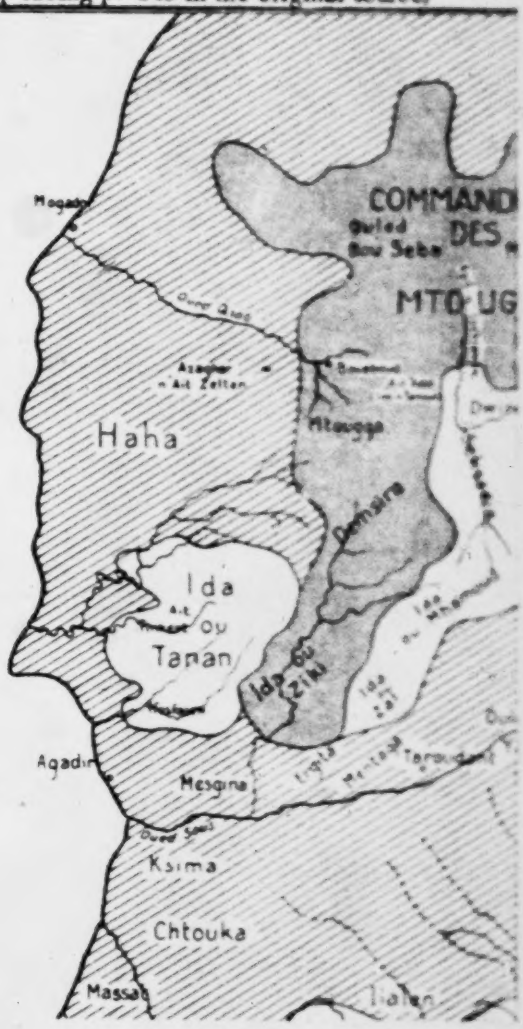

2: Montagne--184 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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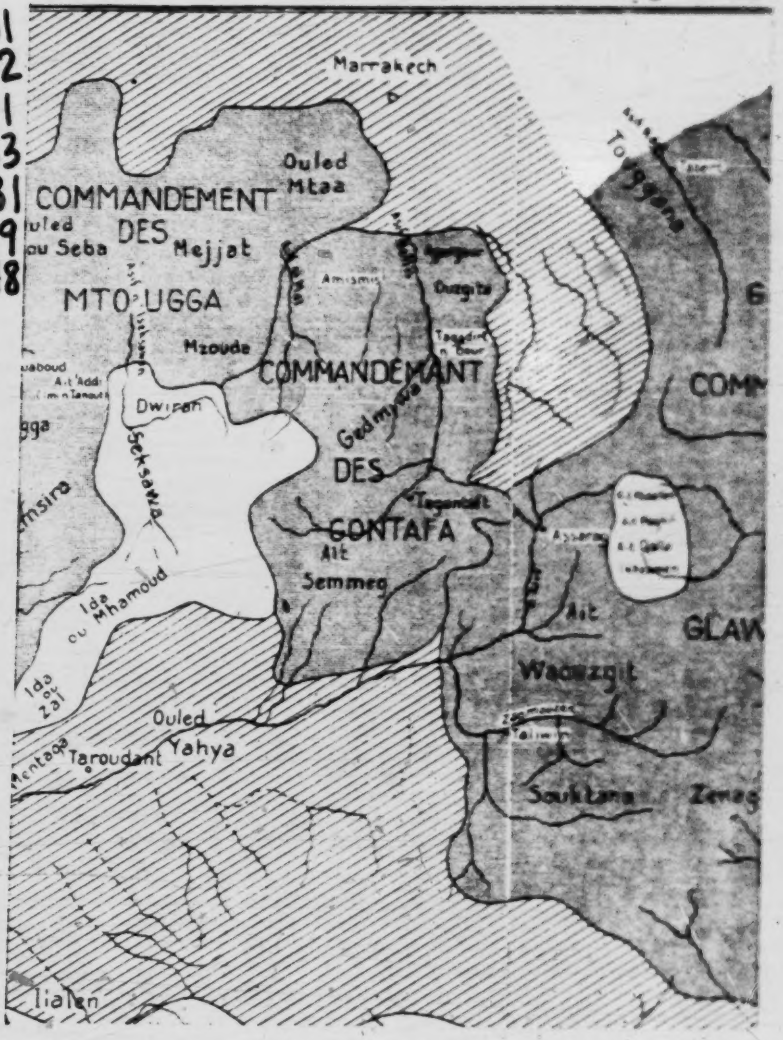

2: Montagne--185 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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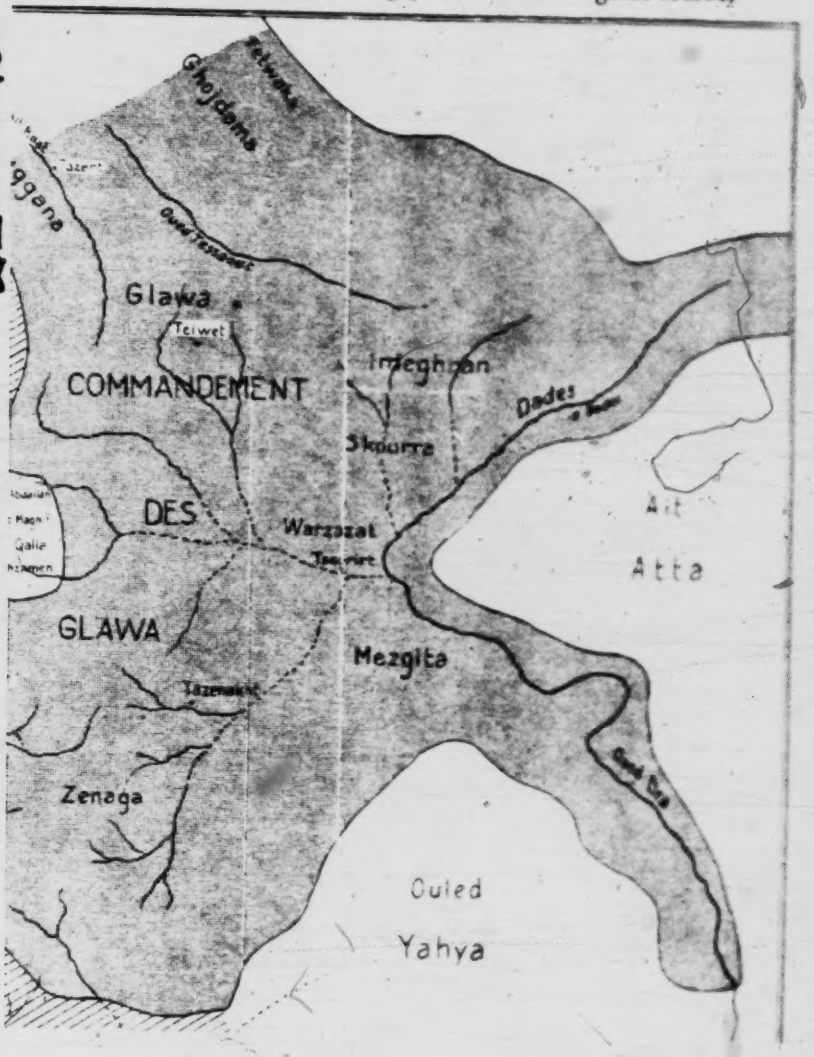

2: Montagne--186 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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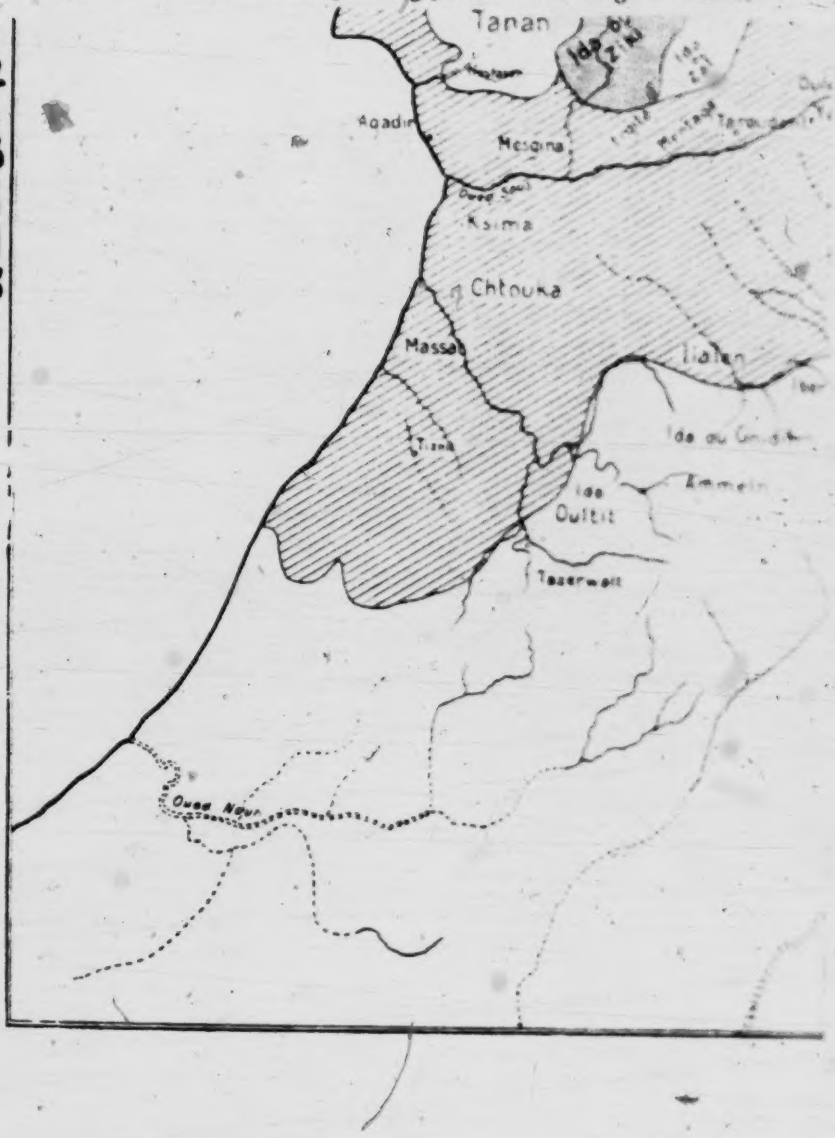

2: Montagne--187 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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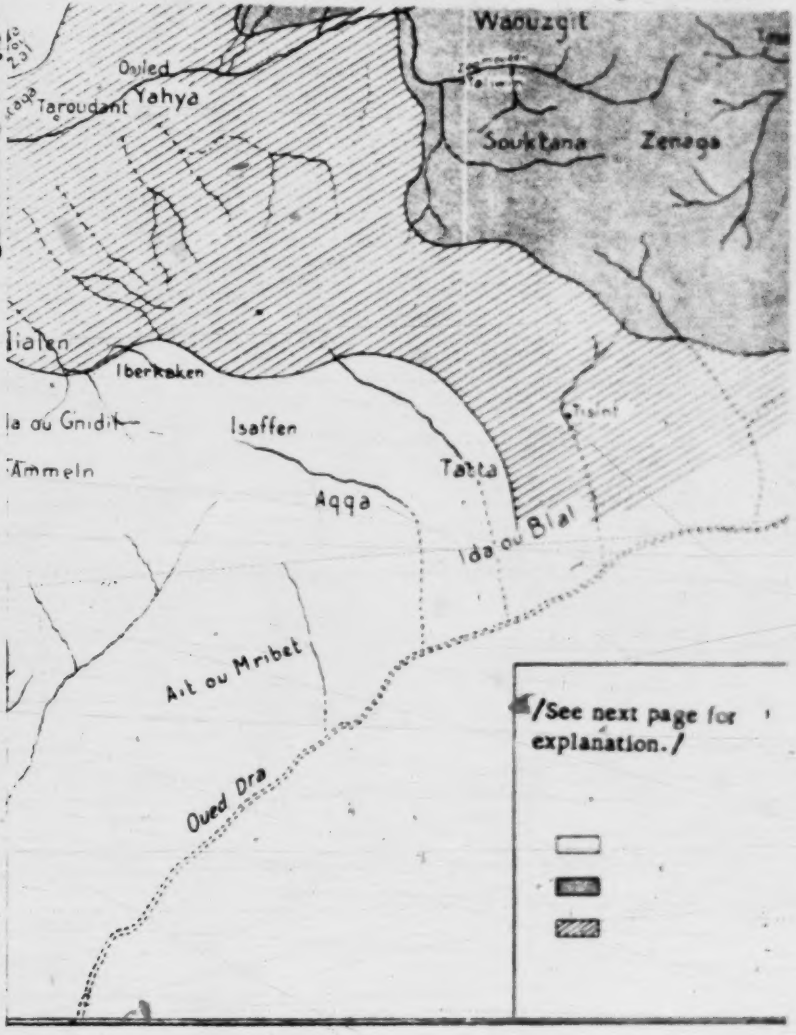

2: Montagne--188 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,800,000

Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.

Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids: Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi

Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen (Minor Kaids and Sheiks).

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confedera-
*631 tion of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Ged-
619 miwa, "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Aflfen," that of
128 the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor, Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2).
613

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are des-
[101] ignated -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif, seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/ society, whose value we have already questioned and which we shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
128 the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/201 cont./
616 with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).
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*634
[113]

1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by Cᵗ Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous ... /Notes on the History of the Sous .../," Hesperis, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Aït Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

•101 We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential
616 aspects.
619 Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

/202 cont./

•101 The "Aoggwa" (1)

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1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain [131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the [491] Oulad Jerrar, the Aït Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the Aït Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart and Tizounin.

616 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare
619 that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole,
184 especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances. On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton. Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing the Aït Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and Aït Amer. In go-
616 ing around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the
619 state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101]

2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

/202 cont./

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*[634]

/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

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XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

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In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

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[538]

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In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. It seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 invasions have mixed the Berber populations to the point that the former names are little remembered, and where they do occur it is usually as the name of a tribe, such as the long-Arabized Zenata of Fedala (302). The modern Berber divisions are definable by language – generally, but not completely, corresponding to dialect divisions within Berber – and by culture. The Shluh, derived from a mixture of Masmouda and Sanhaja, speak the dialect known as Tashilhait. The Berabers, who represent a mixture of Sanhaja, Zenata, and nomadic Arabs, speak Tamazight. The western tribes of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian group speak, or spoke, Tashilhait; the southern tribes, Tamazight; the eastern groups, Ruafa (also known as Zenatiya or Thazighth). Most of the Jebala-Ghomara-Riffian tribes now speak Arabic, some as their only language, but all still retain the rest of their culture. The Zenata east and southeast of the Rif also speak Ruafa, but are culturally distinguishable from the Riffians (*Encyclopédie Mensuelle d'Outre-Mer*, 1954, pp. 20-21; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 110-111; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 44).

1. *Shluh*

101 161 The southern Berbers, the Shluh of the western High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas (see Figure 2) number approximately 3,000,000.
197 101 Their form of Berber, Tashilhait, is divided into three dialects: Shilha, spoken by the Shluh of the western High Atlas, the lower Sous River valley, and the region between the Anti-Atlas and the Saguia el Hamra; Es-Susi spoken on the upper Sous; and Drawa spoken by the Shluh of the southern slopes of the Anti-Atlas and High Atlas west and north of the Dra. Many of the Shluh of the plains and foothills bordering the mountains also speak Arabic, and Arabic-speaking tribes are found intermingled with Shluh tribes in the southern areas (Applegate, 1957; Basset, 1952, p. 2; Great Britain, 1919, pp. 156, 167, 171, 174, 763-764).

241 361 342 343 The Shluh are characteristically sedentary agriculturalists engaged in mixed farming and residing in permanent stone or pounded earth houses often tightly concentrated into small villages with fortified storehouses (tighremt or agadir).

[pp. 1-21 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

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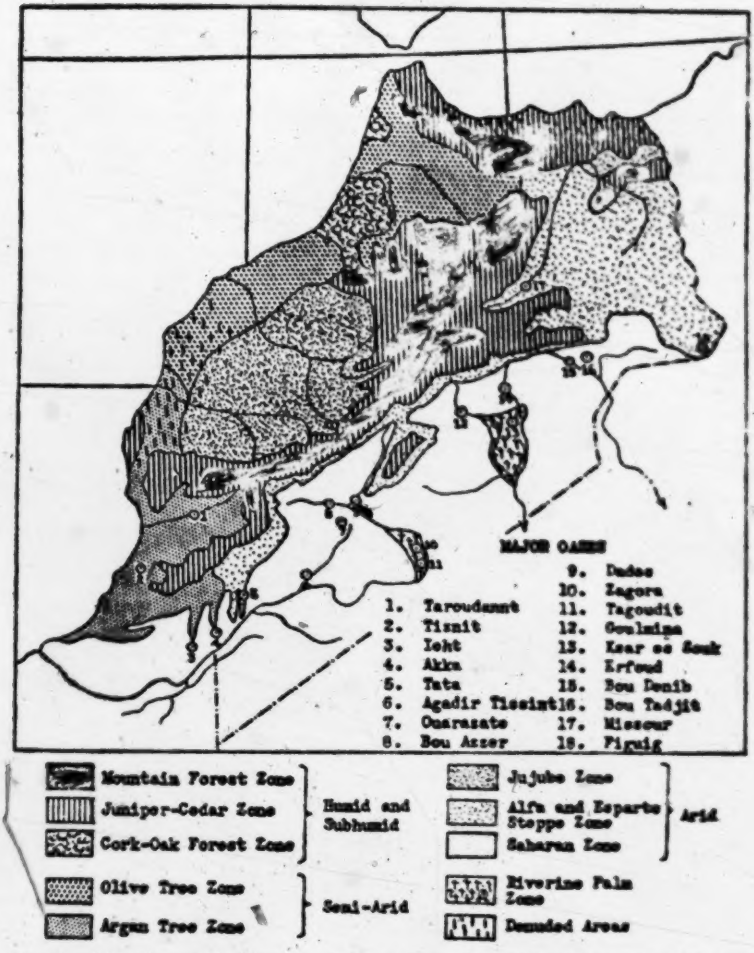

Fig. 2. Life-Zones of Morocco. Revised from Grandidier (1943, Map V) and Joly (1948, Fig. 28).

storehouses (*tighremt* or *agadir*). The pattern varies considerably, however, depending upon the local environmental conditions. In the high mountains, specifically in the juniper-cedar and mountain forest life zones, where relatively low temperatures and high rainfall occur, such groups as the Seksqoua (see No. 559, map: *Tribes of Morocco*), Mesfioua (594), Ait Quaouzouit (626-645), Ida ou

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4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

241 Kensous (674), and Ida Oultit (726-729) carry out intensive agricul-
[101] ture, with every possible patch of ground being cultivated. Irriga-
[132] tion and terracing are both highly developed. In the lower moun-
tains wheat, barley, figs, other fruits, and vegetables are all culti-
vated, with barley the staple product and food. In the higher moun-
tains, bordering on 7000 feet, wheat is entirely replaced by rye and
233 barley. Farming is everywhere supplemented by animal husbandry.
184 The farmers of the lower mountains and of the mountain valleys,
[241] where pasturage is scarce and poor, keep mostly cattle and goats,
which are tended by the women and children. In the high moun-
tains sheep become dominant, and double-transhumance (see
below) appears; the range of migration is much smaller than among
the Beraber, however. The herds are customarily tended by hired
shepherds, though during the summer displacement parts of fami-
lies may accompany them to the high pastures – the remainder
staying in the villages to tend the summer crops. Transhumance is
[221] not generally practiced by the mountain Shluh, however, because
of the scarcity of adquate pasturage (Adam, 1951, figs. 1-6, 16, 18-19
26; Dresch, 1939, pp. 29-56; Great Britain, 1919, p. 162; Johns
Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 64-66; Joly, et al, 1959, pp. 82-83,
fig. 40; Madras, 1948, pp. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16; Mercanton, 1944, p. 20;
Montagne, 1930, pp. 47-48; 1930, pp. 48-56, 58, figs. 18-22;
Robichez, 1948, pp. 16-31).

13 West and south of the mountains the country of the Shluh be-
241 comes increasingly arid and agriculture increasingly difficult. The
argan tree zone lying along the coast between Essaouira (Mogador)
and Ifni, including the Sous valley, illustrates this clearly. Consist-
[101] ing of low valleys occasionally bisected by small rivers and covered
with argan trees, it is occupied by such groups as the Haha (580-
541), Ida Outanane (542-545), Ammeln (685), Ait Massa (702), and
241 Ait Oultit (726-729). Agriculture, held above subsistence with
difficulty and partly dependent upon an elaborate irrigation system,
is based primarily upon the cultivation of vegetables, olives, wheat,
233 and barley (the last two being largely dry farmed). Goats constitute
the dominant livestock, thriving on the nuts of the argan tree,
whose branches they climb. Some of the Arabic-speaking tribes
along the Sous keep cattle, sheep, and camels, but pasturage is
generally not sufficient to permit this else-
where.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

generally not sufficient to permit this elsewhere. Dwellings usually consist of one-story houses made of mud and stone, with the rooms built around a courtyard. Surrounded by cactus, they are apt to be grouped closely together to form a hamlet or even a compact village; these villages usually have communal storehouses (Adam, 1951; Domenech Lafuente, 1946, pp. 83, 90-91, 121-143; Great Britain, 1919, p. 170; Jannes, 1953, opp. p. 64; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 63-64; Joly, et al, 1949, fig. 30; Mercanton, 1954, pp. 13, 15; Montagne, 1930, pp. 46-48; 1930, particularly figs. 1, 12, 14).

South of the Ifni enclave the argan tree zone is bordered by the Saharan zone; to the east, along the foothills of the Anti-Atlas, it encounters the western-most extension of the alfa and esparto grass steppe. In both the Saharan and steppe zones the effect of increasing aridity is to still further inhibit agriculture and emphasize nomadism. The entire region is, in fact, a zone of transition from the sedentary agriculture of the Shluh to the camel nomadism of the Arabic-speaking Berber-derived Reguibat (766-767). Shluh extend as far south as the Saguia el Hamra, but in the south they are much mixed with Arabic-speaking tribes and no boundary can be drawn with any accuracy. Representative tribes include the Skoura (648), Zenaga (657), part of the Ait Imerhrane (618-645), Oulad Jellal (658-660), Ida Oublal (661), Ait Lahsen (737), Ait Oussa (745), and Beni Izarguine (747). The tribes north of the Dra are concentrated in the oases and reside in fortified villages (*ksour*). Agriculture is confined to irrigated areas along riverbanks or in the oases, and consists of the cultivation of wheat, barley, corn, olives, almonds, fruit trees, melons and vegetables; it is often carried on by members of the depressed Harratine group. Many of the tribes also own large numbers of camels, oxen, goats, sheep, horses, asses and mules, which they graze on the desert steppe to the south. As one passes from north to south Arabic speech and nomadism become more and more prominent, but the correlation is not exact. The Imerhrane, Skoura and Zenaga are all Shilha-speakers, but the Imerhrane are partly sedentary and partly nomadic, while the Skoura and Zenaga are completely sedentary. The Oulad Yahya (652), Ida Oublal, and Ait Oumribet (681) are bilingual; the first

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

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